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THE WORLD

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CORPORATIONS

Echoes From a Dead World

E. MERRILL ROOT

Free Speech for Nazis?

ROGER BALDWIN

Educating for Battle

J. A. STARRACK

NOVEMBER 9th

15 cents a copy, \$3.00 a year

*The Upsurge of
Textile Workers*

LEO KRZYCKI

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Ex Cathedra

A MUNICIPAL political campaign always arouses the latent cynicism in me. The arguments of most of the candidates are so insincere, their appeal to popular prejudices so obvious, and their discussion of basic problems so inane that I am tempted to sit back and laugh.

Here in New York a hectic campaign is drawing to a close. Mr. McKee, who has substituted a Bronx for the time-worn Manhattan front of the old Tammany is all mixed up trying to determine whether LaGuardia ought to be defeated because he is a Communist or because he is a stalking horse for Ogden Mills's presidential ambitions. Mayor O'Brien thanks God that Thomas Jefferson is not alive to be overcome by the spectacle of treason to his party as practiced by Tammany braves who have decided that there is better chance of getting patronage from a victorious McKee than from a defeated O'Brien. Mr. LaGuardia tries to prove that he advocated the policies of the NRA before there was an NRA, while the so-called Recovery forces imply that a vote for McKee is a vote for Roosevelt. Mr. LaGuardia tries to arouse the Jews against Mr. McKee, but the latter counters by getting prominent Jews to swear that the religious issue should not be raised and was not genuinely raised by an article against the Jews written by a youthful McKee back in 1915. It's all rather pathetic. Nevertheless, I hope that a fake-reformer like McKee will be trounced.

THE Senate committee investigating banks discovered that Mr. Albert Wiggin, former head of the Chase National Bank, was drawing a modest retirement allowance of \$100,000 per year. It also discovered that Mr. Wiggin, like other high-powered executives, continued to increase his salary in depression years while everyone else was taking a cut, and while Mr. Wiggin lectured labor on the necessity of bearing its share of the national depression. Since the publication of these facts Mr. Wiggin has asked the bank to discontinue his pension. He said that he believed that its payment had been for the

good of the bank but that now, since the arrangement had become the subject of public criticism, he no longer regarded it as such. One wonders in what sense it was supposed to benefit the bank in the first place.

The utter cynicism with which leaders of high finance swilled at the trough of their institutions, fed as they were by the stream of credit arising from the savings of common people, is a sad commentary on the state of morals in this twilight period of a dying capitalism.

THE farmers, who are proletarians when compared to the financial interests who hold the mortgages on their farms, may become "kulaks" and capitalists when they get the chance. That remark is prompted by the kind of treatment the migratory harvest hands get in California from irate farmers when they strike for a decent wage. Here is another proof of the equivocal position of the farmer in the social struggle.

DELADIER'S liberal French government has fallen because the wing of the Socialist Party under Leon Blum refused to support it. It had, however, moved so far to the left in an effort to satisfy its Socialist following that it lost its center support. The movement in the French chamber will now undoubtedly be toward the center through a series of successive brief governments. Through these rapid changes the perilous international situation will probably be further aggravated. The situation in France proves that it is easier for a radical Socialist party to insist on the principle of non-cooperation with bourgeois governments than to make such a principle completely relevant to a complex political situation. A catastrophic revolutionary party has no difficulty holding to this principle. But as soon as a degree of catastrophism is sacrificed and a certain responsibility for the relativities of immediate political situations is felt, it is not so easy to hold rigorously to the absolute principles.

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Buying Gold to Raise Prices

By its decision to purchase gold on the world market as a means of further depreciating the purchasing power of the dollar, the Administration has adopted one of the most powerful and at the same time one of the most treacherous weapons of economic nationalism. The reason for this drastic action is, of course, only too clear. Commodity prices, especially those of farm products, had declined seriously since the peak in mid-July. Half of the spectacular increase in business activity had been lost; and the trend of employment, after six months steady improvement, had once more turned downward. Some move was obviously necessary if the entire national recovery program was to be saved from imminent collapse. In hope that a re-emergence of inflation psychology would be sufficient to stimulate prices, the President's first step was to empower the Reconstruction Finance Corporation to purchase gold from domestic producers at a price somewhat above that prevailing abroad. While this warning of the Government's determination to raise prices did check the rapid decline which had set in, it was evident that the cry of "wolf, wolf" had been uttered once too often to have any marked effect. For a believer in the efficacy of direct monetary action—as Mr. Roosevelt has shown himself to be—the only alternative was to extend operations into the world market. Just how far the Administration is prepared to go in this direction is as yet uncertain. Merely to fix a price higher than that of the market would prove unavailing unless the Government is willing to buy gold in substantial amounts at the designated price. But if it pursues the policy vigorously, there can be no question of its ability to establish the external value of the dollar at any level it desires.

Needless to say, this action has come as a bitter disappointment to conservative economists and bankers, most of whom had been urging immediate stabilization. With their angry protestations we need not be overly concerned. Doubtless there is much truth in the view, set forth in the London *Week-End Review*, that, in contrast to the usual situation, the Government has been influenced by the interests of debtors as against those of creditors. But before rejoicing too heartily over the discomfitures of the property-owning classes, it is well to consider the grave dangers with which we are confronted in the international sphere. No nation occupying as predominant a place in the world economy as the United States can deliberately deprec-

ate its currency without adversely affecting economic conditions throughout the world. In addition to the disadvantages to trade resulting from general monetary uncertainty, foreign nations are faced with the prospect of a steady flow of cheap goods from the United States, unaccompanied by a proportionate increase in its demand for foreign products. As a defense it is almost certain that they will adopt reprisals against American trade, even though they must eventually suffer from such action. For if any lesson is to be learned from the events of the past four years, it is that measures designed for the stimulation of business activity within one country at the expense of foreign nations are suicidal in their ultimate effect.

Yet despite the threat of a devastating currency war, the Administration would be justified in adopting its present tactics if they were necessary for the restoration of commodity prices. The perils of deflation are in some ways greater than those of inflation. Fortunately, however, no such dilemma exists. Leading economists, such as J. M. Keynes, have repeatedly pointed out that "reflationary" action can be achieved without adverse international repercussions by means of large-scale government expenditures. Instead of injuring the outside world through a diminished demand for foreign goods, a truly adequate public-works program would greatly increase the demand for imports, and would make possible some assurance regarding the future stability of American currency.

Russian Recognition

The recognition of Russia is probably a foregone conclusion even though the conversations have not yet begun. Most of the basic difficulties were probably explored before the formal invitation to the Soviets was extended.

It is interesting to note with what comparative unanimity the press and public has accepted and even hailed this new Rooseveltian policy, though it completely reverses a position which has come to be considered almost as unchangeable as the law of the Medes and Persians. Even the professional patriots, the Easleys and the Daughters of the American Revolution, seem to have made very little objection. It is really surprising how traditions can be overturned in this country with only minimal opposition to rather fundamental changes.

Of course every consideration of wise statesmanship and every natural political instinct favored the recog-

nition of Russia. Both the industrialists and labor hope to secure some benefit from the large orders which Russia will undoubtedly place here. It is rumored that Russian business will probably total a half-billion dollars per year. There is, moreover, general recognition of the fact that Russian and American policies toward Japan have natural points of affinity. There are at least sufficient points of common interest in Oriental events to have made the former estrangement of the two nations very foolish. The possible significance for Japan in the new developments is attested by the order of the Japanese government to its Ambassador in Washington requiring him to return home for consultations. The order followed hard on the publication of the news of a Russian-American accord.

We cannot say that we are as happy about the possibilities of united American-Russian action against Japanese imperialism as are some foes of Japanese policies. Imperialism has a very precarious base in the desperate economic situation in Japan. Furthermore, Chinese passive resistance may be able to defeat Japanese designs with less bloodshed in the long run than any possible united action on the part of Russia and America. Japanese imperialism may, in other words, break down internally or through Chinese pressure if other nations are not tempted to challenge it. At any rate, the possibility of common action against Japan is the least hopeful aspect in the recognition of Russia. It is to be hoped that the other possibilities will outweigh this consideration. Perhaps it is wise not to worry about the future, and to be glad that a fruitful source of international misunderstanding will be eliminated through the recognition of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

Secretary Browder on the United Front

Pacifists and Socialists are divided in their attitudes toward the united front with the Communist Party in the struggle against war and fascism. But they should be able to agree upon certain basic facts that are relevant to an intelligent discussion of this question. Just what is the primary purpose of the Communist Party in promoting the movement for a united front? Perhaps this question cannot be answered more authoritatively and emphatically than by quoting Earl Browder, General Secretary of the Communist Party in the United States. Following the New York Congress Against War, this ranking official reported to the 17th meeting of the Central Committee of his party, as reported in the *Daily Worker* on October 21:

Nobody can say that the Communist Party was not the very center of the Anti-War Congress—the outstanding feature of the Congress was the work of the Communist Party. But nobody can accuse the Communist Party that by standing at the very center of it before the whole world, it was pursuing a sectarian policy, that it was limiting the united front. On the contrary, no right sectarianism or left sectarianism

was expressed in this Congress because the Party was there as the foremost fighter for the broadest possible united front in the struggle against war. *The Party brought forward the program that united the whole Congress, and the Party established a favorable condition among all of those masses who worked in the Congress, who had any contact with the Congress, to create great prestige for the Party, creating the conditions for building the Party, recruiting new members, gathering around us larger groups of sympathizers. It is on this model that we have to work in all phases of the struggle.* It is along this line that the unions must work inside of each industry; it is along this line that the unemployed councils must carry through their struggle for the unification of all unemployed organizations of the United States—not by hiding themselves in top committees, but by standing forth as the chief fighters and chief instruments for achieving this union . . . this Anti-war Congress and the other work that we are doing has proved the possibility of penetrating into the ranks of the Socialist Party, and this is of the greatest political importance for us today. [Italics ours.]

In the light of these words, what was the purpose of the Communist Party in promoting the Congress Against War? There is not a line about the contribution made by the Congress in helping to prevent war, but there is keen exultation over the brighter prospect of being able to weaken the Socialist Party.

Further light may be gained from a resolution adopted by the Central Committee of the Communist Party, as published in the *Daily Worker* on October 20, from which the following words are taken:

The attempt of the capitalists to prevent the mass struggles of the workers, with the help of the A. F. of L. bureaucracy and the Socialist Party, has failed. . . . In this situation, the bourgeoisie, fearing the consequences of the breakdown of its "experiments" is preparing additional measures to meet the emergency. . . . They are unanimously in favor of an intensified drive for new wage cuts, speed-up, cutting of unemployment relief, and the use of more fascist methods against the struggles and organizations of the workers, the use of force and violence, legal and extra-legal, to suppress the rising struggles of the workers (Ambridge, Utah, New Mexico, California, Tampa), and the increased lynch terror against the Negroes. *In these policies the capitalist class has the full support and collaboration of the American Federation of Labor and Socialist Party leaders*, which more rapidly than ever are amalgamating with the capitalist state apparatus (A. F. of L. Convention, fully supported by the Socialist Party). The leaders of the Muste group (Muste, Truax), after making solemn public pledges of united struggle against the N.R.A. and for unification of the unemployed movement, are objectively helping the government and A. F. of L. in fighting the militant unions and perpetuating the divisions among the unemployed; their renewed agitation for a Labor Party is but an instrument designed to hold back the radicalized masses from the path of revolutionary struggle under the leadership of the C. P. U. S. A. [Italics ours.]

These long quotations are presented in order that there may be no distortion of the Communist position.

It would be easy, by assembling a hundred other official utterances, to show that the words quoted above are typical and representative. There is basis for legitimate differences of opinion among pacifists and Socialists concerning the united front, but there is no excuse for failing to understand clearly the significance of Communist tactics in promoting the united front.

When Cuba Defaults

Unless all signs fail, Cuba will soon default on its foreign debt. Even without the revolution this step was inevitable. During the last year of the Machado regime, payments were possible only with the aid of further bank credits. But when the dark day arrives, the facts just brought to light by the Senate Banking Committee and Mr. Pecora will not help the cause of the money-changers.

In 1926, not long after the island's ill-fated dictator had entered office, General Enoch H. Crowder, former ambassador to Cuba, protested against a rumored \$100,000,000 loan, citing the country's already heavy debt and its deplorable financial condition. But blithely undeterred by such gloomy counsel, the Chase National Bank soon launched a series of loans for a public works program which was almost to double the country's public indebtedness. For this, Cuba received a central highway, paralleling its principal railway, and an ornate capitol to house a subservient congress.

But these blessings do not tell the whole story of the bank's benevolence. Who says a corporation has no soul? The Chase Bank, at least, had a heart, both for its legal counsellors and for the dictator and his henchmen. To Dr. Antonio Sánchez de Bustamante, former President of the World Court, went \$40,000; to Henry W. Catlin, friend and former business associate of President Machado, emoluments totaling \$55,000. The dictator himself, together with two of his companies, was favored with loans of \$400,000. The bank even paid the President the delicate attention of hiring his son-in-law as joint manager of its Havana branch. Though "perfectly useless from a business standpoint," he served with evident efficiency as social contact man, currying favor with the Havana press.

It is true that in 1932 the bank's heart apparently hardened. Despite the fact that the continuing fall in the price of sugar had brought financial distress and widespread misery, the bank insisted that service on the loans be continued, though such action meant, according to the President's own testimony, the starving of government employees. But by then, perhaps, it was time to think of those who had bought Cuban bonds. Should interest payments stop, they might begin to question, as the Senate Committee has recently been doing, the facts set down in one glowing prospectus after another. And after all can even a banker be generous to all of the people all of the time?

World Airways

That warfare of the future will be increasingly air warfare, and that aviation is the crux of the disarmament question, is generally agreed by most students of disarmament programs. But if any issue is wrapped up in technical disagreements, and for good reasons, it is the problem of disarming the air. While civil airplanes can be converted into effective military aircraft less rapidly than the public usually assumes, nevertheless every airplane in existence is in some degree a menace so long as war threatens in any form. But there is no sense in working at all for disarmament if the answer is to be found in a total abolition of airplanes, the utility of which for commercial and passenger service has been clearly demonstrated. Battleships can be totally abolished on technical grounds; so can submarines; so can tanks and long-range guns. But so long as the alternatives appear to be insecurity due to military aircraft on the one hand, and complete elimination of all aviation on the other, for once, at least, those who habitually find flaws in every proposal for disarmament have a compelling argument.

For this reason, although we do not advocate anything less than total disarmament, we believe there is no slight importance in a plan worked out in England by a committee established under the auspices of two British periodicals: *Essential News* and *The Week-End Review*. This scheme takes cognizance of the fact that in any future state of the world, aviation, whether actuated by intense nationalism or progressively international in spirit, will, on the whole, demand encouragement rather than suppression. Moreover, it cuts the ground from under the feet of those who, as in the case of French diplomats, return again and again to the scheme of a centralized military air force under the League of Nations to be used as a punitive weapon of irresistible destructive power. Yet at the same time, it avoids that condition of anarchy which makes aviation the most fearful of potential scourges.

Briefly, this committee of inquiry suggests that ownership of aviation must be international, with administration decentralized though subject to international controls. A treaty is proposed which will prohibit the use of all aircraft, aerodromes, and personnel for war, and which will ban all bombing from the air. With this as a legal basis, the plan then goes ahead to outline the machinery and procedure of operation.

An international Directorate of Aviation shall be formed, according to the plan, consisting of all Ministers of Transport or other officials from every country participating in the recent disarmament conferences. Its secretariat shall be international, and decisions shall be taken by majority vote. An international company shall be formed, called World Airways, which shall exercise exclusive ownership of all

present and future aircraft and equipment, and the program outlines specific and practicable means by which privately owned property can be taken over. Administration would be vested in a Board of Directors, balanced skillfully for fairness. No members of governments or persons connected with national fighting units are to serve, nor any person holding shares in any newspaper or arms firm, nor any manufacturers of airplane supplies. World Airways is to run both main lines of commercial and passenger traffic and many regional lines, mapping out the world on a basis of practical needs. Small regional lines may rent equipment and be run privately, but may not own anything. Existing craft and equipment shall be classified according to well-defined standards, and all military planes and material shall be destroyed in the shortest possible time.

Objections are considered one by one in the full report, which is an exhaustive but remarkably clear document. It is important to remember that in the early stages of the recent disarmament session at Geneva, our American delegation was reported as feeling that any regulation whatsoever of civil aviation could not be tolerated. But before the German withdrawal, even the French and Belgian delegates were willing to discuss means toward internationalization; while the Dutch delegate, first opposing any such idea, finally agreed to internationalization if it would not prevent development of civil flying.

In any form of society we are likely to have in the next century, whether a regulated capitalism, a socialized commonwealth, or a mixture of national states running the spectrum from deep-dyed fascism to radical communism, the issue of aviation, even if military flying did not need to be considered, will be important. It is not too much to say that those who desire to work practically for disarmament might at least do well to acquaint themselves with the proposals of this British committee and examine them thoughtfully to see whether, or how far, they should be wrought into programs for action against war and war preparedness.

Khaki Shirts versus Terzani

On November 27 an important, if incredible, case will come to trial in Queens County, New York, when Athos Terzani, a young Italian anti-Fascist, will face the charge of murder. The victim of the slaying was Terzani's intimate friend, Anthony Fierro, a pre-medical student in Long Island University. Fierro was shot down while defending a friend who was being ejected from a meeting of the Fascist Khaki Shirts of America in Astoria on July 14.

Upon the shooting, Terzani remained on the spot instead of getting away, as he might easily have done; he showed the police where the gun was hidden; he pointed out one of the Khaki Shirts as the murderer,

an identification corroborated by Michael Palumbo, another eye-witness, at that time a stranger to Terzani. Nevertheless, Terzani was arrested; the man identified as the killer was permitted by District Attorney Joseph Loscalzo to leave the State; and Terzani was held on a charge of murder based on the accusations of no less a national figure than "General" Art Smith, the high mogul of comic opera revolutionary fascism who was recently chased out of Philadelphia. "General" Smith's organization was broken up after he had planned a juvenile march on Washington to make President Roosevelt dictator—and incidentally after he had cleaned out the suckers who had given him money in order to parade in plumed helmets and cheer for a *coup d'état*. Smith, a loud-mouthed adventurer bordering on mental unbalance, boasted of his anti-radical activities, and in front of 1,000 persons in Philadelphia on July 23, asserted that "we" killed one radical and sent 19 others to a New York hospital shortly before. Police raiding Smith's headquarters found it well stocked with pistols, clubs, knives and brass knuckles.

District Attorney Colden promised the Terzani Defense Committee on August 28 that he would institute a new inquiry into the case; but he has not done so. The whole affair takes on the complexion of a crude and ghastly frame-up. Representatives of five organizations have united behind the Committee—the Socialist Party, the General Defense Committee of the I. W. W., the American Civil Liberties Union, the (Communist) International Labor Defense, and the Italian Defense Committee. Funds are needed to carry on the fight against this monstrous outrage. Norman Thomas is Chairman of the Committee and Roger N. Baldwin is Vice-Chairman.

Guerrilla Warfare Begins

It is quite evident from the newspapers and from the underground activities of politicians and large industrial and financial interests that a systematic sniping campaign has started against President Roosevelt and his policies. These interests hope to win the public to their side and to discredit the President. They hope that the lagging of the recovery program will make the people ready to follow them once more and that, since a progressive national policy cannot restore prosperity in eight months, the people, in disgust, will turn the power over to those very groups which brought the country to the verge of ruin.

For let there be no mistake. Those who are opposing the President most bitterly are not the hard-pressed farmers, but the wealthy groups who fear that their wings will be clipped by the New Deal. The sniping campaign proceeds from large newspapers, which, through prating about the sacredness of the freedom of speech that all too often they would deny

to others, seem in reality to be concerned about preserving their freedom to work child newsboys long and unsuitable hours and to run meretricious advertisements for foods, drugs and cosmetics. It proceeds from investment bankers who in all too many cases have manipulated their own stock, given themselves huge salaries and bonuses while demanding the deflation of labor, and used their depositors' money to give themselves illicit favors and rakeoffs. It proceeds from great monopolies, such as the steel industry, which have kept their prices up while all others were falling, and at the same time ruthlessly broken up all attempts by their employees to bargain collectively. It proceeds, in short, from all those who have sought to replace the Americanism of Jefferson, Lincoln and Jane Addams with the Americanism of Samuel Insull, Charles E. Mitchell and Albert Wiggin. They are confident of victory, for did they not also succeed in discrediting Woodrow Wilson fifteen years ago?

If the American people allow themselves to be taken in by this propaganda, they will be bigger fools than we believe them to be. The public should not make Roosevelt and the so-called "brain trust" the scapegoats for the retardation of recovery. It is the capitalists who are really at fault. If they would let Roosevelt reform their system, we might have a breathing space of a generation before a bitter class struggle descends upon us. By their opposition they will bring this conflict nearer and the end of their own power ultimately closer. This is a time when liberals and radicals need to organize to resist the pressure which will soon burst upon us from the reactionary right.

Explosive Palestine

The situation in Palestine continues to be unsatisfactory to all parties concerned. The Jewish population is disappointed and despondent over the announcement by the government that only 5,500 labor immigrants will be permitted to enter within the next six months, instead of the 25,000 desired by the Jewish Agency. But the admission of 5,500 more Jews is bitterly resented by the Arab population, and is interpreted as further evidence that Arab interests are being submerged by Jewish immigrants and Jewish money.

On October 26, Joseph M. Levy cabled the *New York Times* from Jerusalem: "The General Federation of Jewish Labor has caused considerable hostility by its anti-Arab attitude. With the exception of two or three huge Jewish undertakings, where the federation permits the employment of a small percentage of Arabs, its general slogan is '100 per cent Jewish labor,' and any Jew daring to employ Arabs subjects himself to attack by that organization. . . . The Jewish laborers are the strongest and best-organized party in the country, but Moishe Smilansky, Hebrew writer and veteran farmer in Palestine, maintains the tactics of the party

bar any possibility of establishing a Jewish National Home." The day following this dispatch, Mr. Levy was compelled to cable that more than 20 persons were killed and about 130 were wounded in a riot in Jaffa. And still further fatalities were reported on subsequent days.

However legitimate may be the Jewish claim to Palestine, and however ardent may be the aspirations of Zionists, the cumulative evidence reveals clearly the impossibility of maintaining Jewish political and economic dominance except by reliance upon bayonets and air bombs. It may be that Zionists consider this a small price to pay, but they should be under no illusions concerning the actualities of the situation. A cultural and spiritual home for the Jews can be created in Palestine without the necessity of armed defense, but the effort to establish political and economic control by the Jews will transform the Holy Land into an armed camp, if not an actual battle-field.

Imperialism in Action

Sugar refiners in the United States are now flooding this country with propaganda for a higher tariff on refined sugar, and are resorting to typical imperialist arguments in an effort to stop importations from Cuba. The assumption throughout this literature is that Cuba is a colony of the United States, and that the profits of the refiners on the mainland should take precedence over the welfare of the people of the islands. In a leaflet issued over the names of 13 North American refiners, and addressed "To the Home Makers of America," we read: "Due to a loophole in the tariff the domestic industry has been further imperiled by a deliberate duplication in the tropics of refining facilities long established here. Our tariff and colonial policy encouraged the production of raw sugar in the Islands and protects its refining on the Mainland. . . . United States sugar refiners now have the capacity and can employ labor if the sugar now refined in Cuba was refined in the United States." And in a pamphlet published by the American Sugar Refining Company is this plea: "We maintain that our Colonial Policy, like that of the British Empire, Holland and other countries, should fully protect our domestic sugar refiners from Colonial duplication."

This is the sort of propaganda that infuriates Latin Americans. They at least know that Cuba is not a colony of the United States, in spite of the stranglehold of North American financiers, and appeals of this character confirm their worst fears of Yankee imperialism. It is high time that consumers of the United States should awaken to a realization that they have long been exploited by beneficiaries of the sugar tariff, and that citizens should be alert to the fact that propaganda such as we have quoted imperils trade with Latin America and jeopardizes friendly relations with our southern neighbors.

The Upsurge of Textile Workers

LEO KRZYCKI

AFTER four years of depression and apathy, organized labor is again on the march. A wave of strikes is sweeping the country. The NRA watches, and frowns, while the radicals hurrah on the sidelines. Behind these hurrahs are many questions. Does this presage a birth of militancy in unorganized labor? What does this business of organizing a union mean in the lives of those on the picket lines? What basis does it provide for a general revolutionary orientation? Sweeping answers are obviously impossible. One can, however, take a particular campaign and draw from it a few circumscribed conclusions.

The organization among the shirt workers of the East was similar to many such drives in that it was rapid and successful—successful in relation to previous attempts to organize in this industry, and in relation to the difficulties of all organizing during recent years. In a campaign of seven months' duration, approximately 20,000 shirtworkers were organized over a territory covering five states and sixty towns. Starting from practically nothing, the shirtworkers' union is already a factor in the industry; it possesses some measure of economic power.

To be properly understood, this rapid organization must be placed in its economic context. The shirt industry was one of those most demoralized by the depression. It was further demoralized by certain competitive practices that had developed within it. The industry was at one time centered in New York City, where it maintained a strong union. About 1920 it started drifting to the hinterland, looking for cheap labor. Manufacturers retained their offices in New York for the purpose of taking orders and buying materials, but the actual work was done in the small towns. Later these two functions were often separated. The manufacturer in New York continued taking orders and buying goods. The contractor, whose sole business was the buying and selling of labor out in the hinterland, made the goods into shirts at so much a dozen. His only investment was in his machines, which could be installed in any old barn; his only cost was labor, and this he kept as low as possible. Competition among contractors forced wages lower and lower, which in turn forced down the wages paid by legitimate manufacturers.

Translating this economic situation into human terms, we find plenty of reasons for revolt among shirtworkers. The fly-by-night contractor took over barns, stables, lofts, and basements, without the least concern as to whether or not they were fit to work in. Caught

in the competitive downward swing, he reduced wages almost to the vanishing point. The Harrisburg sweatshop investigation found girls working in shirt factories for less than a dollar a week, and sometimes a week meant 55 hours. Sanitary, and even moral, conditions were degrading. Ninety-eight per cent of the workers in the industry are women. The great majority of them are quite young, ranging in age from 16 to 24. The work is not easy: fingers get sore and bleeding; feet get swollen from standing; young backs are strained from lifting heavy irons and heavy bundles. The girl shirtworkers are in no sense pampered by capitalism.

SUFFERING, however, does not lead directly to revolt. There were some spontaneous rebellions, often called "misery strikes," among the shirtworkers, but the organization in general was the result of a carefully directed campaign conducted under the auspices of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, an organization that can scarcely be considered typical among labor organizations. And many of the organizers were Socialists, which is not exactly typical of trade union organizers. These two factors had undoubtedly some bearing on the conduct of the campaign.

In addition to being a hard-fighting union, the Amalgamated is one of the few that has recognized the practicality of an idealistic approach to labor organization. It holds its members by social and cultural ties, as well as economic ones. It appeals to new members by building up not only the economic advantages of organization, but the psychological concomitants as well. Though of course the economic question is fundamental, much stronger emotional responses may be won on other issues. Primary among these was the idea of "dignity in the shop." Girls joined the union so that the foreladies couldn't curse them any more, couldn't throw bundles at them, couldn't slap them. The girls saw the union as a bulwark to self-respect. Another factor was the idea of social and cultural participation, and linked with it was the feeling of unity among the girls and the ending of competition among them for jobs.

The campaign went into all sorts of localities, necessitating a real flexibility of tactics. The organization was carried on in the tiny "patches" of the mining districts, as well as in large cities like Philadelphia. It went into territories where unionism was an established tradition, and into places like Allentown, where educa-

tion concerning labor tactics had to start from the bottom up.

Most interesting of all, however, was the campaign in the anthracite district of Pennsylvania. Here there is almost a family relationship between mining and shirt manufacturing. The men in the family work in the mines. The wives, sisters and sweethearts work in the shirt factories. Consequently the United Mine Workers gave much more than formal coöperation to the Amalgamated's activities. In most cases the fight of a shirtworker was the fight of a miner's daughter; on picketline and in meeting hall the miners and shirtworkers stood shoulder to shoulder. This rank-and-file, as well as official, coöperation, made possible tactics here that would have been useless elsewhere.

THE section is scattered with small towns located within 20 miles of each other. Great shirt houses have plants employing from 200 to 500, established in chain store fashion throughout the district. A successful attack on a firm must be a broadside on all fronts at the same time; otherwise the work is merely transferred and the rebels starved out. Because of the strong sympathy of the miners and the towns as a whole, the Amalgamated strikes had almost the character of a mass uprising in these small towns, and hundreds of pickets were available for the line. If the girls had not yet been contacted, the miners would picket the plant, under the direction of the organizers, and call the girls on strike. They would then be loaded into trucks and taken with the miners to another plant, where they would call their sisters on strike. In this manner, five shops were "pulled" in one day, twelve in one week, and the countryside was over-run with moving trucks of excited girls and serious miners, traveling from victory to victory.

This use of crowds, one swelling into another, gathering momentum as it progressed, converted the ordinary enthusiasm attending any strike into a rolling, rumbling, mass feeling that swept all before it. To be sure, simple trade unionism was the goal, a conservative thing enough at best. Yet these singing, cheering crowds surged up to the factory walls and yelled real defiance to the powers entrenched behind them. These girls and boys, intoxicated by mere numbers and a new thrill of power, were emboldened to try their strength against the autocrat of their lives, against the individual who represented to them all they feared and hated in the system, their sweatshop boss.

Such mass feeling, even though motivated by so accepted a thing as trade unionism, cannot sweep a community and leave it unchanged. The immediate consequences were a reawakened vitality in other unions, and the final consequence was a hard-hammered feeling of labor solidarity. The interdependence of industrial groups was never better illustrated. A militant fight

from the shirtworkers brought interest, sympathy, and finally new courage to other labor elements. In addition to the assistance rendered by the miners, the shirtworkers got active coöperation from nearly all labor groups that were organized, as well as from the organized unemployed. In return, the shirtworkers were able to make contributions in many ways.

One famous scab town was broken wide open by the shirt drive, which led to a reorganization of the Central Trades Council that had not functioned for two years. In Mahanoy City, during the campaign, the printers caught the union fever and organized their plant in a two-hour strike. In Tamaqua, the mere threat of borrowing Amalgamated pickets won victory for the barbers over night. Striking shirtworkers picketed a scab carpenter job and signed the men and the employer in two hours, where the local organizers alone had been helpless. To the shirtworkers must also be given some credit for the initiation of the famous equalization march of the miners. Miners tell us that the phrase, "If the girls can do it, we can," was often heard in the local meetings where the project was discussed. At any rate, it is certain that hundreds of girls were in the ranks of the miners, who, by the way, organized enroute a bakery that had been on strike for ten months.

IN the anthracite, as in other districts, there was a real surge of labor power, a growing urge to organize, that brought strike after strike. The preparation for this revolt had been laid by years of suffering and torment during the depression. The promise of a New Deal brought a spontaneous outburst that made organizing possible and almost easy, compared to the difficulties encountered in recent years.

What is it in the New Deal that has implemented this revolt? Obviously, not the gifts that it has promised, but not brought, not the better times that are still only talked about. Two things can be named specifically: the general sentiment that at last the time has come for something to happen, and the collective bargaining provision of the Recovery Act.

Though this provision has been reduced to a mockery, and though it exists only on paper and must be enforced on the picket line, it has been of great value in organizing. The initial fear of the worker to defy his boss has been to a certain degree allayed by this very official-looking pronouncement. Added to whatever confidence he has in the strength of the union is the feeling of governmental sanction in his fight, a sort of paternal pat on the back. Though nullified a thousand times later, it helps him over the original Rubicon of doubts and fears.

The technique of using the NRA is one that calls for great care. In the first approach it can be cited effectively to give a certain stamp of approval, a cer-

tain self-righteousness to the union's cause. Yet the NRA in the factory must be demonstrated as a farce without a union to enforce it. In the initial steps, reliance upon the protection of the NRA must be built up. Once the initial steps are taken, that reliance must be broken down, and there must be substituted for it a reliance only upon the organized workers themselves. A fighting, aggressive union cannot be nourished on reliance upon some particular and perhaps temporary governmental policy.

Strangely enough, the blanket codes did not at all hamper organization. Prior to going on the codes, the girls looked forward to it as heaven on earth, and thought that a union would be unnecessary. Partly because of this unwarranted expectation, and partly because of the very nature of chiseling manufacturers, "working on the code" in every case proved a hard disillusionment. Lay-offs, speeding up, and other abuses soon demonstrated to the most skeptical the necessity for union enforcement.

THE Socialists on the staff were of course especially anxious to avoid any glorification of the recovery program. In the educational meetings during the afternoons, it was found possible to present the NRA from the Socialist point of view, that is, as an attempt to do away with a depression that had eaten into profits, and to bring back a boss's prosperity. The girls were practically virgin material for propaganda. Non-political to a degree, they had no prejudice against radical ideas, though they, like others, cherished prejudices against certain radical words.

But omitting the particular work of the individual organizers, what was there intrinsic in the experiences of these girls that might lead to a revolutionary orientation? First comes the original defiance of the employer. This employer owned their jobs, but they dared oppose him. Often a "pillar of the community," they went so far as to call him dirty names. In the struggle he slipped from his pedestal of "important citizen" and emerged in his class role. He became a recognized enemy, not a generous giver of jobs. Second, they not only opposed this employer, but they conquered him. These youngsters, having all their lives taken orders from the boss and his kind, beat him through a weapon of their own construction, through their own organized strength. They won a new feeling of power, limited, it is true, in scope, but exhilarating. Third, they learned a lesson not yet appreciated by many of our so-called radicals—the identity of the state with the ruling class. They saw the town police at the beck and call of this new enemy, the boss. They saw the mayor and the chief of police on the boss's side of the fence. This lesson was learned imperfectly, of course. Not everywhere was it demonstrated with equal clarity. Yet, on the whole, the strikers emerged

from the battle quite skeptical of the impartiality of governmental agencies, particularly local authorities.

ALL this tends to build up the first fundamentals of class consciousness: courage to defy, a feeling of power; a sense of identity with other workers; and a sole reliance of organized workers upon themselves for acquiring whatever gains can be wrested from the greedy system.

The little shirt-tail revolution may be easily suffocated; in a year's time it may be entirely forgotten. But, on the other hand, Socialists can build from such material, and upon such a foundation, a young, strong, clear-headed revolutionary movement, with its roots deep in the working class. Teach these workers that the power they tasted when they "beat the boss" is as nothing to the power that they will possess when all workers organize together, industrially and politically. Teach these workers not only how much power could be theirs, but what that power can win for them. Teach them that they have strength not only to force from the bosses a union shop, or unemployment insurance, or an NRA, but strength to displace the boss and his class entirely, and to take forever the world that is theirs by right. Mammoth tasks, to be sure, but not impossible. And the future lies in their accomplishment.

Passover For Armistice Day

THOU gentle Christ, whose unreproachful eyes,
Out of the somber images we make
Of Thee to stay our need, look calmly off
Beyond Golgotha's eminence with clear
Expectancy, lend Thou to us this day
The lordly metaphor that makes Thy death
A lode-star steadfast in the world's wide-faring.
Thou art the lamb the magic of whose blood
Dripped down in ruddy coinage that the dust
Might witness expiation of an old,
Compounded reckoning. The guardian stain
Upon the lintel of the house is Thine,
Warding away the ministry of wrath.
Say Thou, have not these also paid the price
That Thou hast paid: these manifold to whom
The breast of life was yet immaculate,
Whose blood was spilled, whose chosen bodies broken
To make a testament as rich as Thine?
Oh not our victory—was it not ours?—
For which we bartered in this precious kind;
It is the cost we celebrate today.
Thou Christ to whom of old the dove came down,
Make Thou the memory nettles in our flesh,
Make Thou the triumph ashes in our mouths
Until the covenanted day be come,
Until we keep our rendezvous with Peace.

GLENN W. RAINES

Echoes From a Dead World

E. MERRILL ROOT

IN one of his finest sonnets, Rupert Brooke imagines the bewildered recollections of the dead, groping after the world that they have laid away with the incredible flesh:

*So a poor ghost, beside his misty streams,
Is haunted by strange doubts, evasive dreams,
Hints of a pre-Lethean life, of men,
Stars, rocks, and flesh, things unintelligible,
And light on waving grass, he knows not when,
And feet that ran, but where, he cannot tell.*

It was a sonnet of authentic prophecy: if Rupert Brooke had survived the war, he would have been—as many of us who lost our youth but not our lives now are—a ghost looking back bewildered toward a world that seems a dream of the dead. And his task, as ours, would be resurrection—a resurrection not into that soft sad world which was, nor into this hard sad world which is, but into the nobler synthesis which is the day after tomorrow.

Vera Brittain takes up the task of that resurrection in her splendid *Testament of Youth*.^{*} Beside the misty streams of this world of dead Youth, she remembers the light on waving grass, the stars and rocks and flesh, the feet that ran. She does it well, and it is good to have her do it. For the war, and the world today, began in that fragile shimmer of a day forever lost—in that *dolce far niente* of the doomed, in that strange interlude which now seems a dream of the dead who still live. “When the Great War broke out,” she begins, “it came to me not as a superlative tragedy, but as an interruption of the most exasperating kind to my personal plans.” Exactly! And to recreate that shimmering fragility, that unsubstantial haze which was the pre-war world, is beneficent in wisdom—as beneficent and wise as to realize that the airy nothing of the cloud contains the golden doom of lightning.

For the inquietude of the Western Front was not—as most war books make it—the central relevance. The war itself, certainly, was the dominant impact of horror: but the war was only the outward and visible sign of an inward and spiritual disgrace. It was a suburb of Inferno; but civilization had bought its ticket to Hell long before. It was journey’s end—but there was also journey’s beginning. And to realize the tragedy of youth in the war, to realize the tragedy of youth after the war, a war book must recreate also that journey’s beginning.

Testament of Youth recaptures much of the fact and

atmosphere of that lost world which ended in war. It was, as Rupert Brooke phrased it, a “world grown old and cold and weary”—yet how glamorous even its romantic despairs seem to a world grown young and hot and dreary with Aldous Huxley! It was a world where physical comfort, stability, optimism, evolutionary progress, the gentilities of evangelical democracy, pragmatism, assurance of the triumph of the surface over the centre, of the conventional over the elemental—all now the surest casualties of the war—rode-a-cock-horse. These were the *hubris* of the elders, the pride which (the Greeks knew) went not before an ordinary fall but which strutted before the pit of the abyss.

And yet it was incredibly—for all its gestures of liberalism—a world of limits and decorums, of glass houses where no one must throw stones: Vera Brittain, being a woman, knows better than her brothers that once there were chaperones, and that women had to fight for votes and education and jobs. Yet the young in such a world, even in rebellion, were soft, illusional. There was a fine but vague idealism, nebulous and blinding like rainbow mist, which the elders were clever and evil enough fully to exploit. Vera Brittain cites a “comprehensive aspiration” from her diary of 1913: “To extend love, to promote thought, to lighten suffering, to combat indifference, to inspire activity.” I too—but for the grace of God—must have written much the same thing about 1914-15. For all youth, then, had an evangelical idealism, a sense that if we only led boldly with the big bass drum we should bring the world to the court-house steps of heaven, and the vermin-eaten saints with mouldy breath (even Pierpont Morgan) would change magically into quite tidy disciples. Youth, then, even in its stormy romantic doubts, was naive, fragile in beauty—like the delicate casual beauty of frost on the roof, soon to melt—of bubbles on a brook, rainbowed but soon to break.

VERA Brittain brings to our eyes the tears implicit in human circumstance as she recreates that naive, brave, sun-lit Youth which descended gallantly into Hell.

*Take my Youth that died today,
Lay him on a rose-leaf bed,—
He so gallant was and gay,—
Let them hide his tumbled head,
Roses passionate and red
That so swiftly fade away.*

They also suffer who only stand and wait. She can tell the story because she—a girl—had to stand and

* *Testament of Youth*. By Vera Brittain. Macmillan Co. \$2.50.

wait and suffer, seeing the light-foot lads she loved go one by one where roses fade, their dear gallant flesh torn with the lead or steel whose destiny is blood. More poignant, more desolating, more terrible even than the ghastly impact of *All Quiet on the Western Front* is this grey, gentler tale of lost ghosts, of beautiful young lives that went out one by one like extinguished suns, leaving her alone, abandoned in a world of night.

POIGNANT, candid, brave, this re-creation of nightmare recollected in tranquillity is one of the most strangely moving of war books. Strangely overwhelming, too—orchestral, like music that, beginning quietly, gathers to a thunder of plangent desolation—is her fine sense of the philosophic atmosphere of the war, of the psychological vacuum and abyss:

One had to go on living because it was less trouble than finding a way out.... I had now passed—like the rest of my contemporaries who had survived thus far—into a permanent state of numb disillusion. Whatever part of my brief adulthood I chose to look back upon—the restless pre-war months at home, the naive activities of a college student, the tutelage to horror and death as a V.A.D. nurse, the ever-deepening night of fear and suspense and agony in a provincial town, ... it all seemed to have meant one thing and one thing only, “a striving, and a striving, and an ending in nothing.” Only gradually did I realize that the war had condemned me to live to the end of my days in a world without confidence or security, a world in which every dear personal relationship would be fearfully cherished under the shadow of apprehension; in which love would seem threatened perpetually by death, and happiness appear a house without duration, built upon shifting sands of chance. I might, perhaps, have it again, but never again should I hold it.

Thus, implicit and explicit, the testament of youth leads toward a philosophic heart of darkness.

But, unlike the post-war futilitarianism, it does not end with heart of darkness. It seeks heart of light. Out of the wreck of her youth Vera Brittain strives not only for recollection but for resurrection: that is the psychological health of the book. She went on, she found work, she found love. Artistically and philosophically, the post-war years may be (as some reviewers feel) the least interesting, the least vital; but symbolically and spiritually, they are the most important. For in them there is a brave exodus from the shadow of *Abandon Hope All Ye Who Enter Here*, toward the love that moves the sun and all the stars in their courses.

The attempt is splendid; the success is incomplete. But to understand the reason for that half-success is to be set upon the road which Vera Brittain wishes us to travel. She fails because all of her did not die; because too much of the pre-war world yet lives in her. The League of Nations, the Labour Party, the ges-

tures of liberalism and democracy—these, to her, still seem the Angel rolling away the stone. But that way madness lies. Youth faces and must conquer a new world: a world of political Calvinism, where only the elect (not the elected) rule, and the majority, predestined to a chosen impotence that becomes an elemental might, are willingly damned for the glory of the totalitarian (or the proletarian) State. It is a glacial period politically: the fire and the ice battle together, preparing earth for the green serenity of trees, the blue loveliness of lakes: youth must know this, accept this, and work with only the support of this larger and farther hope.

Miss Brittain fails, secondly, because she does not wrestle through that spiritual heart of darkness which became—both rightly and wrongly—the psychological temper of post-war youth. The modern distemper, the waste land of the spirit, the farewell to arms, those

*Even who come by it to death,
Whose souls through some green gloom pursue
The silver bubbles of the breath*

—these must be conquered by passing through, not ignoring, their defeat. And the nobler souls who break into new metaphysical depths—the Ice Age become not only mood but metaphysics in Jeffers; the orchestration of collapse and catastrophe in *The Decline of the West*; the profound vision of Barth, seeing life as a war of time with eternity; the tragic sense of life explicit in an Unamuno—point the path to the heart of light. A regaining of personal happiness by work, by love, is no abiding victory. Politically and philosophically, the bridge the author builds into the future is a brave, gleaming bridge of frost that will not last in the heat of the rising sun. The journey must be made—she is right and the futilitarians are wrong—but it is a journey which must be made by more audacious roads.

YE甫 what heart of grace is ours when so brilliant a comrade sets out upon so brave a journey! Let Aldous Huxley be sage, and T. S. Eliot imagine a vain thing; let Ezra Pound dominate sterile generations with his brittle and waspish ingenuities; let Hemingway say farewell to beauty as well as to arms, and suggest that though the sun also rises it would be better if it did not; let all our contemporary shadow-shapes come and go round with the sun-illumined lantern. Youth survived the war; it will survive even James Joyce. D. H. Lawrence, that intense white flame, saw himself (and life) as a phoenix, burning to ashes only to be born again, yet more flame-winged. So with youth: its testament in these fine pages is candid yet brave. It wins dark victory here—further testament that it will yet walk the way of all spirit, and win the victory of light.

Free Speech for Nazis?

ROGER BALDWIN

THE controversy over permitting the United German Societies to hold a meeting in a city armory in New York aroused an amazing opposition to the almost routine sponsorship by the American Civil Liberties Union of the right of peaceful assemblage even for Nazi speakers. The Societies proposed to put on their program an alleged Nazi agent, around whose activities the controversy raged. Although the American Civil Liberties Union as a defender of free speech has championed rights for all sorts of causes, even its friends bitterly protested its championship of the right of Nazis to speak. Defenders of free speech with records for a decade in behalf of unpopular minorities began to fall by the wayside with choleric diatribes against the right of this "murderous crew of assassins, Jew-baiters and tyrants" to raise their voices on American soil.

But two lawyers representing the Union, both Jews, Morris L. Ernst and Harry Weinberger, arose at the Mayor's meeting and championed the rights even of their bitter enemies to the same liberties which as lawyers and libertarians they have so long demanded for all without discrimination. At once they were assailed in the press and by letters, as well as by speakers at the meeting—and from two sides. Conservatives attacked them on two grounds: first, that the meeting would certainly result in a riot; and second, that no representative of a government which persecutes Jews should be allowed to defend that government in New York. Communists attacked them on the ground that free speech is to be regarded only as a weapon of class warfare, and it is the business, therefore, of radicals to oppose its use by reactionaries. They characterized the position of the Civil Liberties Union as that of "ivory-tower liberals expressing the ideas of a decrepit and bankrupt middle-class liberalism."

The Union's championship of the right of the Nazis to conduct their propaganda rests on precisely the same grounds as its championship in the past of the right of the Ku Klux Klan, Italian Fascists and other reactionary elements to have their say, whenever they were in a minority, as they were in many American communities. The Union takes the perfectly clear position that if a mayor or chief of police can ban one speaker today because he hates his doctrine, he can tomorrow ban any meeting or speaker against whom pressure is directed. Such a position leaves every mayor and chief of police the sole dictator of who may or may not speak in his town.

Of course the Communist position is honest. Com-

munist make no pretense of supporting free speech on principle. They regard it as a weapon in a class struggle, and they will use it whenever they can get it. They oppose it for their enemies. But unless the C. L. U. becomes a class organization, it must still appeal to those alleged democratic rights which the law presumably protects. The Communists object that those rights do not exist in fact, that whenever a crisis arises they are swept aside by the ruling class. That is true wherever the crisis is sharp enough and the middle-class constituency outside the struggle small. But the middle-class crowd, represented in the C. L. U., have often been able by their disinterested championship of the rights of strikers and radicals to achieve those rights where the interested groups were wholly unable to do so alone.

BUT it is on an even more significant ground than this that the C. L. U. bases its case, namely, that experience proves that propaganda like that of the Nazis is far better combated in the open than under suppression. Making martyrs out of them helps their cause. Driving them into byways and corners will win them the converts which the persecuted always attract. Their silly and arrogant doctrines of race superiority and their brutal persecutions once exposed to public ridicule and scorn, they will stand condemned and powerless. Nazis can't live long in the open in America.

The Jewish attorneys who spoke for the C. L. U. made another argument, and that in behalf of the Jews. They maintained that the Jews themselves were in no position to protest discriminations against their own race in America or elsewhere when they, too, take the same position as the Nazis in suppressing opponents' meetings. For the sake of the cause of the Jews, a minority people, they urged even for Nazis that tolerance which the Jews are always demanding for themselves; and they did this not as a matter of principle but as a matter of strengthening the Jewish cause.

We are in no period of development in American life when we need to call upon suppression in the interest of one class against another. There is too much of that as it is. The obligation of every champion of free speech is to oppose any and all suppression, and, if he is a radical, to gain out of the welter of conflict the growth of those mass organizations of farmers and workers on whom the creation of a coöperative society depends.

Not in the

Teachers Refuse to Fight

A recent convention of public and high school teachers in Kindersley, Saskatchewan, by a vote of 115 to 10 passed the following resolution: "Resolved, (1) That we, the teachers of the Kindersley Inspectorate, hereby declare our opposition to war and to the policies that lead to war; (2) That we will under no circumstances support the nation in any war; (3) That in our schools we will do our best to prepare the children's minds for peace and for the support of peaceful policies."

Newsboys Now

More than 500 Philadelphia newsboys have formed a Newsboys' Union, seeking lower rates on papers and elimination of unfair competition.

Behind the United Front

Issue No. 17 of the *Communist International*, official organ of the Third International, contains an article entitled, "How the Leaders of the I. L. P. Sabotage the United Front." Fenner Brockway and other officials of the left-wing party which has seceded from the British Labor Party are accused of acting "as a definite brake on the organization of the united front." The rank and file of the I. L. P. are urged to break away from the leadership of their party, and the reason is stated in the words: "When members of the I. L. P. and Communist Party work shoulder to shoulder in the daily class fight, the I. L. P. members on the experience of this joint struggle begin to clearly understand the possibility of a rapid elimination of the differences between local organizations and the need for a united revolutionary party, on the basis of the programme of the Comintern."

How to Deepen the Cleavage

The latest issue of the *Communist* reprints an earlier communication from the Comintern on "The Work of Factory Nuclei." Here is a section: "The Party nucleus must be very flexible when approaching social-democratic and reformist workers. . . . The main task of the factory nucleus in dealing with such workers is not to criticize them for not leaving their leaders altogether, but to find a common language with them on questions concerning which they are ready to part company with their leaders, so that they may be drawn into the struggle for immediate demands and that in the course of that struggle the cleavage between them and their reactionary leaders may be deepened to the point of their deserting their leaders altogether."

Education in a Planless Society

| Years ending June 30 | Total enrolment | High school enrolment | Number of teachers, principals and supervisors | Total expenditures | Expenditures for capital outlays | Cost per child enrolled |
|----------------------|-----------------|-----------------------|--|--------------------|----------------------------------|-------------------------|
| 1926 | 24,741,468 | 3,757,466 | 831,078 | \$2,026,308,190 | \$411,037,774 | \$81.90 |
| 1927 | 24,960,582 | 3,834,372 | 842,654 | 2,105,322,414 | 397,016,965 | 84.35 |
| 1928 | 25,179,696 | 3,911,279 | 854,230 | 2,184,336,638 | 382,996,156 | 86.75 |
| 1929 | 25,428,856 | 4,155,350 | 867,297 | 2,250,563,511 | 376,937,062 | 88.50 |
| 1930 | 25,678,015 | 4,399,422 | 880,365 | 2,316,790,384 | 370,877,969 | 90.22 |
| 1931 | 26,011,586 | 4,638,000 | 892,466 | 2,316,613,525 | 320,240,159 | 89.06 |
| 1932 | 25,966,000 | 4,877,000 | 897,018 | 2,188,273,000 | 237,120,080 | 84.27 |
| 1933 | 25,921,000 | 5,116,000 | 882,018 | 1,961,900,000 | 154,000,000 | 75.69 |

As the number of pupils and teachers increases, expenditures have decreased. Capital outlays represent construction of new buildings and upkeep. Figures for 1933-34, according to reports, will show sharp decreases in expenditures.

—Reprinted from the *Literary Digest*.

Communist Party Takes Stock

Secretary Earl Browder, in the October number of the *Communist*, makes the following comment on the state of the party: "The greatest danger signal to the Party today is the slowness of recruiting new members, and the high degree of fluctuation of membership whereby we lose about the same number we gain, with the total membership remaining at about 20,000 for many months. This is the result, primarily, of insufficient clarity on the Party line in the every-day work, of insufficient understanding of the Open Letter, and its still weak application in life. . . . This Hamlet-like balancing between the Party line and the position of the renegades, social-fascists, and reformists, is a poisonous influence inside our Party, and can do more than anything else (even when expressed by only a few comrades) to drive away workers from our Party. To build the Party and the revolutionary trade union movement, it is necessary to take up a sharply intolerant attitude towards such vacillations and wavering on the Party line."

Secretary Perkins Says—

In the latest issue of the *American Labor Legislation Review*, Miss Frances Perkins, Secretary of Labor, writes: "Two years ago I made a personal investigation of the British system of unemployment insurance. . . . There seems to me no doubt that the compulsory insurance against the ordinary hazard of industrial unemployment has proved to be sound in principle in England, and that it, together with the social services for which the Government and County Councils have been responsible, is the base of the tremendous improvement in the health, standard of living and morale of the English working people since the time of my last visit just before the war. . . . I favor a compulsory unemployment reserve system because I believe it would provide an incentive for the stabilization of employment."

International Correspondence

For the second time THE WORLD TOMORROW is informed that notices in its columns brought a considerable number of responses to the appeal of "The International Correspondence for Peace" for American friends of international peace and friendship who are willing to enter into correspondence with workers for peace in various countries of Europe. Dr. Karl Heinz Spalt, first president of the movement, has been compelled to flee from Germany, but he is carrying on the work from headquarters in Austria. Persons who are desirous of entering into correspondence with comrades abroad should send their names to F. W. T. Atkin, 83 Ranmoor Road, Sheffield 10, England.

Pacifist German Paper Unbowed

One of the most important magazines in Germany before the rise of Hitler to power was *Die Weltbühne*, whose editor, Karl von Ossietzky, boldly attacked militarism in all its forms until he was finally apprehended by the Brown Shirts and railroaded either to prison or a concentration camp. The remaining editors of the staff have begun publication of *Die Neue Weltbühne* from Prague 1, Melantrichova 1/111.

Family Wage in France

Since October 1, French workmen have been receiving family subsidies based on the number of dependent children in the family, reports the American Embassy at Paris. The average payment for every dependent child is about 30 francs per month and continues until the age of 16. At present the system is operative in mining, metal trades, textiles, building and certain other trades, but on January 1, it will be extended to all industries. The French government is setting up offices throughout the country through which employers will make their compulsory payments for these subsidies. It is estimated that the total cost will approximate three per cent of the present pay rolls.

Headlines

A Different Sing Sing "Graduate"

The prison-reared daughter of Warden Lewis E. Lawes of Sing Sing Prison is studying at the New York School of Social Work this winter. Miss Crystal Lawes was graduated from the University of Vermont with a Ph.B. degree in 1932 and has since done some special work on parole and with the Classification Clinic in Sing Sing.

In Jail for a Principle

In the last issue of THE WORLD TOMORROW reference was made to the refusal of Negro parents in Berwyn, Pennsylvania, to send their children to the segregated school. Since that time four of these parents have been lodged in jail on a charge of violating the truancy law by keeping their children out of the separate school for Negroes.

Utilities Alarmed

A writer in the New York *Evening Post* expresses great concern over the outcome of municipal elections in six cities where the voters are soon to pass upon the question of substituting publicly owned power and light facilities for private plants. This question is to be decided within the next few weeks in Akron, Cincinnati, and Springfield, Ohio; Knoxville, and Memphis, Tennessee; and Salt Lake City, Utah.

That Justice May Prevail

The trial of Athos Terzani, anti-Fascist accused of killing his comrade Anthony Fierro, is set for November 27. Fierro was murdered while defending a friend who was being ejected by "General" Art J. Smith from a Khaki Shirts meeting in Astoria, New York City. Norman Thomas is chairman of the Terzani Defense Committee. Funds are urgently needed and may be sent to the treasurer, Herbert Mahler, 94 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

Community Doctors

State medicine is successfully meeting a practical test in the town of Cardston, a small Mormon settlement in Alberta. Complete medical service is afforded to each family for an advance payment of \$25 a year, out of which the physicians are paid in monthly installments. The scheme is said to be working out admirably, 300 families having joined the movement to date.

Y.P.S.L. Alert

At the quarterly meeting of the National Executive Committee of the Young People's Socialist League of America, held in Pittsburgh, October 21 and 22, the work of the educational, industrial and student departments of the League was carefully reviewed and instructions for renewed activities issued to the two hundred local units of the organization.

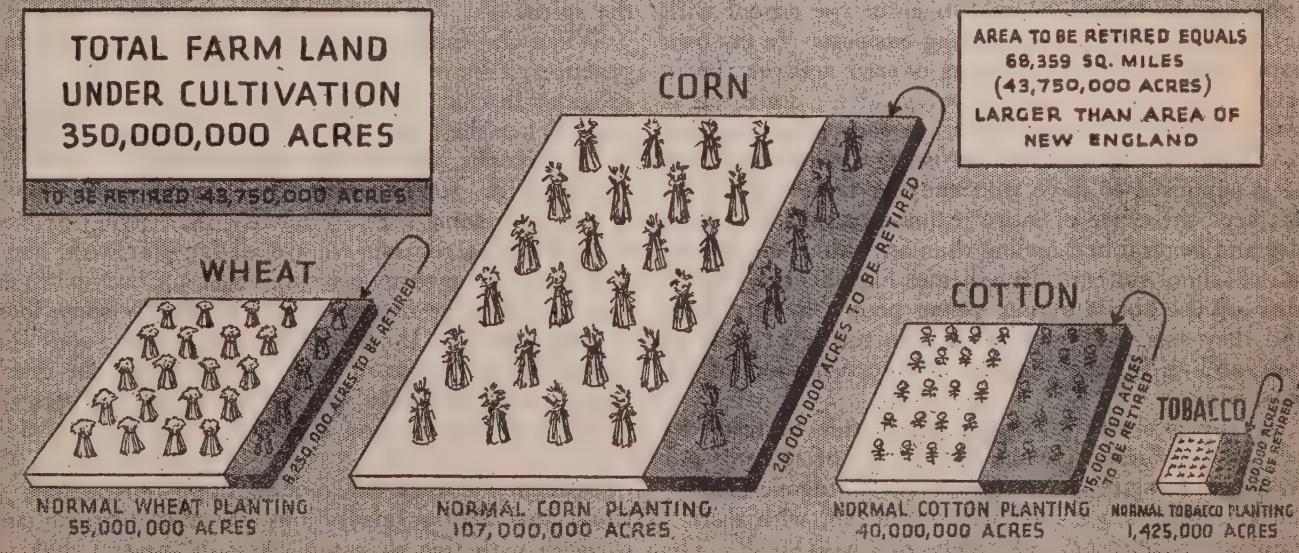
Taxation of Land Values

The California State Federation of Labor at its recent convention in Monterey endorsed the principles of a proposed amendment to the State Constitution which calls for the repeal of the sales tax; the reduction of taxes on buildings and other improvements by 20 per cent annually for five years, after which no taxes whatever will be imposed on improvements; and the transfer of the tax burden to land values. Mr. George W. Patterson, 2422 North Alvarado Street, Los Angeles, is president of the organization which is sponsoring the proposed amendment.

Disarmament Game

"Guns" is a new and lively game that will go far to break down war psychology, yet it is not offensively propagandistic. It can be enjoyed by children as well as by adults and is a novelty at the bridge party. The game consists of 52 blue cards, with pictures on many of them, of good quality, with rounded corners and provided with a decorated cover and complete directions—all for 15 cents (plus 3 cents for postage). The game is distributed by the War Resisters League, 171 W. 12th St., New York City. The secretary of the League, Dr. Jessie Wallace Hughan, one of the country's most active pacifists, is the inventor.

HOW THE PROCESSING TAX PROGRAM IS INTENDED TO REDUCE FARM PRODUCTION: ONE OUT OF EVERY EIGHT ACRES OF CULTIVATED LAND TO BE RETIRED



—From the *United States News*, Sept. 30-Oct. 7

Educating for Battle

J. A. STARRAK

WAR, over-production, unemployment, speculation, and debt are only subordinate causes of the prevailing depression, since they are in themselves the products of the insatiate greed for gain, the rank materialism, the dog-eat-dog competition which are the distinguishing and inherent characteristics of our economic system. Does there exist a cause-and-effect relationship between the practices of our educational agencies during the past few generations and the existing deplorable condition of Western civilized society?

Even a superficial analysis of common educational devices discloses the fact that the methods of motivation most commonly employed make a strong appeal to the most selfish impulses of the human race. Fear, competition, ownership, love of prominence, self-advancement, have been the chief motives employed in the education of the past few generations. To provide expression for such impulses an elaborate system of rewards and punishments, prizes, contests, marks, class lists, etc., has been developed and widely employed in practically all of our schools. Professional recognition and advancement have been awarded to those teachers who could devise the most effective schemes for the stimulation and expression of the selfish and anti-Christian impulses of human nature.

When the ingenuity of the schoolmen seems to lag, we allow the high pressure business man, the up-and-coming president of the local chamber of commerce, or some prominent banker whose philosophy of life makes it impossible for him to think of any other method of appealing to human beings, to enter the school with nefarious schemes for promoting business. In my own home town a certain bank has offered a silver cup in each of the junior high school grades. This cup is awarded to the "best student" in each grade for the year. The name of the winner is engraved thereon and he is supposed to have won undying fame. This cup has been the cause of more jealousy, suspicion, hypocrisy and general bad feeling than any other one agency in the school system. By schemes like this the personality of the ablest of our young people is perverted, and they are made menaces to the future of civilization; and all for the purpose of advertising one of the local banks.

In the interests of bigger and better contests the schools of education in the universities of some of our Midwestern states have sponsored "academic meets." These affairs are elaborately organized, with district elimination contests and plenty of "ballyhoo." The

final contest is held at the university, where the survivors of the endurance grind are determined. The school systems of the state and the teachers therein vie with one another for the honor of having produced the winners. When it is known that tests of the new objective type are used in these meets, the amount of cramming occasioned by them, with the consequent perversion of the true aims of education, can easily be imagined.

EVEN the Sunday school is an active accomplice in this crime. In the Sabbath school which my family attends, as a case in point, a Bible is offered each year as a prize to the student in each of the different classes in the junior department who repeats from memory certain of the most beautiful passages in the Bible. Among these passages are the Christmas story, the Easter story, the Twenty-third Psalm, and the Beatitudes. It happened recently that my young daughter was the first in her class to memorize the required passages. I can recall how she came out of the church door, ran over to the waiting car and called to me: "Daddy, I beat them, I won the Bible, and I got that ding-busted old Easter story off my mind, too." It was then that the full significance of such methods of motivation came upon me. Her teachers were attempting to instruct her in some of the most sublime and hopeful ideals of human behavior, and they were using a method diametrically opposed to the spirit of the message being taught. The children were so impressed by the method that they failed utterly to catch the spirit.

When the Sunday school stoops to such debasing practices, it is not surprising that social institutions less religious in character should offend in the same manner. When the Lions Club, the Rotarians, the Kiwanis or the Chamber of Commerce feel the urge to do some "real service" for humanity, they are more than likely to organize some sort of contest. Kite flying or bird house building contests we are all familiar with, but a new one in our town last year was a Christmas tree contest. A prize of money was offered by some local organization for the best Christmas decorations displayed by any house in town. Here again the greed for gain, which Christ gave his life to combat, was appealed to in connection with the celebration of His birth.

Probably it does not require these illustrations to show how all our institutions are shot through and through with this vicious disease of "contest mania."

They all seem united in a campaign to develop to the utmost the selfish impulses of mankind, and humanity today is paying a terrible price in human misery and suffering, crime and disillusionment because the teaching has been so successful as to make crass materialism the great motivating force of human activity.

Teachers and the school, in common with other institutions designed to educate children, must bear a large share of responsibility for the disaster which has befallen humanity. With food and clothing so plentiful that farms and factories can remain idle for years while surplus stocks are being used up, we have in this

country millions of men hungry and cold, broken in spirit and body, and fearful of the future. What else but the greed for gain, the lust for power and ownership has caused this paradoxical situation, and what else but coöperation, altruism and human love can relieve this disaster and prevent another equally or more destructive? Any agency, person or institution which has by its example and influence contributed to the growth of selfishness and greed for material things in the minds and souls of human beings must be held responsible for its share of the blame for a condition brought about by a wholesale application of these motives to the business of modern life.

Dollfuss As Dictator

AN AUSTRIAN CORRESPONDENT

IT is a rather sad proof of the lack of political intelligence in the Western world that liberal opinion everywhere seems to have made a little hero out of Chancellor Dollfuss without any recognition of the dubious methods which he uses to maintain himself in power or of the ambiguous forces which support him. Chancellor Dollfuss is, unlike Hitler in Germany, maintaining a dictatorship without even the semblance of a majority behind him. His own party does not represent more than 20 per cent of the electorate, and the other small parties associated with him (Landbund, etc.) do not come anywhere near a majority. The Socialists would still be able to command 30 per cent in a new election, and the National Socialists would undoubtedly receive at least 35 per cent. It is significant that in many Catholic communities the Nazis have made considerable progress among the peasants in spite of the strong opposition of the village priests.

The Dollfuss government is a dictatorship maintained by the power of the church, by the Hapsburg legitimists, represented particularly by Prince Starhemberg and his Heimwehr, and by French finance. Without French loans the government would long since have found it impossible to maintain itself. The French support is dictated partly by political considerations (fear of Anschluss), and partly by the stake of the French banks in Austrian finance. Dollfuss, while himself not an enthusiastic legitimist, is naturally forced to work with all conservative forces not aligned with the Nazis and would undoubtedly help to set young Otto on the throne if he thought that move would help to stabilize his government.

While the Socialists still represent a third of the population and are in the majority in Vienna, and while they have followed a more consistent radicalism

than the German Socialists, so that communism has never arisen in Austria, it is a question whether they have not so far lost their moral authority that any government will be able to defy them with impunity. A silly action on the part of the Socialist President of Parliament (he resigned after a mistake in a close vote) gave the present dictatorship the pretext to establish itself without parliament. The real crisis for the Socialists came on May 1, when the leaders called on the party to defy the government order prohibiting their May Day demonstration. So few workers heeded the leaders that the opposition now feels that the workers are no longer with the party, and that the Socialist leadership may be defied without serious consequences. It is a fact that the National Socialists have made tremendous gains in unions, and that even the workers who live in municipal apartments in Vienna (supposedly "red fortresses") are becoming increasingly Nazi.

The fact is, the rise of the Nazis is the most powerful single political movement in Austria today. It is probably powerful enough to venture upon a successful *coup d'état*, particularly since sections of the army reveal a very dubious loyalty to the government. The Nazis have been prevented from coming to power partly by the insane politics of their party in Germany and partly by the fear that if they established themselves in power they would probably face intervention on the part of France, Czechoslovakia and other nations bound to French policy.

Under the circumstances it is idle to imagine that the Dollfuss government has any real stability. It may be able to retain its position for some time, but if it does, its success will be due to pressures and forces from the outside, and not by authority derived from the Austrian people.

Disarmament Fades Out

H. N. BRAILSFORD

IN a London suburban train, the other day, some small boys were making an excessive noise. One of the passengers bade them be silent. "Let them be," growled an elderly workman. "Let them enjoy themselves, while they can. They'll be gassed soon enough." I could collect, if I chose, a whole string of anecdotes of this kind: one cannot escape them, if one keeps one's ears open. The dread of war has seized the imagination of the average man and woman in England in recent weeks, till it threatens to become an obsession. It is easy enough to explain. The old fear has come back in its familiar shape, for it is from Germany once again that the threat proceeds. Few know enough to reflect on the changes that separate us from the memory of 1914. The Germany of today has neither allies nor arms, and the preponderance of force is ludicrously on the side of those who would oppose her. What impresses the average man is the ruthlessness and recklessness of this insurgent power. He has read something of the cruelties of the Nazis towards their opponents and the Jews, and he argues, naturally enough, that a new era of barbarism has begun. If this is our mood in England, you may imagine what the Continent feels. The result is that we are now confronted by two dangers—Hitler and the panic he has caused. Of the two, it is our own panic that alarms me the more, for it is a heavily-armed emotion, and the prodding of the interests is behind it.

Hitler, as I see him, is a man in the grip of necessity. He made a revolution on the plea that only shock tactics, autocratic leadership and the impetus of youth could achieve quick results. A transformation of the economic outlook is manifestly impossible by the methods he has adopted. It follows therefore that he must score some prompt success in foreign policy. It was no doubt the economic misery of the small middle class, and still more its fears, that recruited his following. Its fear of a Communist revolution may have been as sincere as it seems to us grotesque, but Hitler can no longer keep it alive. He has murdered an invaluable scarecrow. He must now realise his positive promise—to lift Germany out of the rank of the second-rate powers. The first effort on which he concentrated all his attention has failed to bring success. He has not carried Austria with a rush. He might have done it if he had been slower in abolishing the self-government of Bavaria and the other German states. The conservative, propertied class in Austria is won for fascism, and in sentiment it is German, but

it does not want to be blotted out by the Protestant North. The result of Hitler's obliteration of Bavaria was that this Austrian middle class, or the more influential part of it, suddenly decided to develop a wholly artificial Austrian patriotism, and this odd enterprise has the patronage of Mussolini, the Pope, and the bankers and Foreign Offices of London and Paris. Today Austria could be rushed into a Nazi revolution only by an armed rising, and this would certainly mean intervention by the Allied Powers.

THIS Austrian enterprise, then, has lost its attractions and its prospects. What else can Hitler attempt? An attack on Poland would be much too risky, since she secured her rear by fraternisation with Russia. There remains only the attainment of equality in arms—which is of course the key to everything else. Hitler has made his gesture by withdrawing from Geneva. By so doing, he probably has made a deep impression on the mass of the German nation, and while his "plebiscite" under the gag of the dictatorship will be worthless, it is probable that even if opinion were free and opposition possible, the immense majority of the voters would approve of what he has done. On this subject only one opinion is possible for Germans, though they have differed sharply in drawing practical conclusions from it. This gesture, backed by the referendum, will serve for a time to warm men's hearts and to set them shouting "Heil Hitler!" But clearly it will not serve for ever. It is a preface to action, or it is nothing.

Hitler may by this gesture wreck the Geneva Conference (which probably would have gone to wreck anyhow), but that will not get him arms. Sooner or later, when he receives, as he will, the more or less unanimous assent of the German electorate, he must act upon it. It is not enough to arm secretly as he doubtless is doing, and as von Papen and von Schleicher probably did before him. This high language about "national honor" requires that he should arm openly. He must give his people the thrill of tearing up the Versailles Treaty and defying the victors. One fine day, to drums and trumpets, a few of those forbidden tanks will have to roll down *Unter den Linden*, while military planes hum in the air with a swastika stamped upon them. It may seem an odd childishness at this time of day. None the less, if the rest of the world could tolerate the spectacle without wincing, it might go far to restore the unhappy patient to sanity. He is suffering from a painful complex of

nferiority, aggravated by a mania of persecution, and it is on tanks and guns and airplanes that his emotions are fixed. If he were at last allowed to make himself happy with a few of these forbidden toys, might he not forget his grievances and begin to interest himself in other things?

IT would be, I admit, a risky experiment. Once equipped with a few of these forbidden arms, for honor's sake, it would soon occur to the practical German mind that a few tanks and planes are of very little use. Like a sword and a wig in the seventeenth century, they do indeed certify that their owner is a gentleman, but to deal on equal terms with the Poles or the French, or worse still, with the Poles and the French together, one must have many hundreds of these emblems of gentility. If the mass of the German nation were slow to perceive this fact, there are interested persons who would not be slow to remind them of it.

Here, then, the MacDonald Draft has a certain value. It is not disarmament, or even a distant approach to it. It is a plan for the reorganization of continental armies, which will actually increase the total of trained men. But it has the merit of fixing numbers, and it limits the size or weight of arms. To suppose that this will make war appreciably more difficult is childish, but it would at least put some restraint on competition, provided the supervision were adequate. I doubt whether it could ever have been adopted in its original form. Japan would not accept supervision, and if she refused to sign, then neither would Russia, nor for that matter Russia's neighbors—and they in turn have neighbors. However this may be, the Draft in the shape which it finally took under French pressure had become wholly impossible. It postponed any beginning of disarmament by the victors for another four years. Equality, and then only in the types of permitted armaments, would be fully attained only after eight years. It is not officially known whether even then Germany would be allowed to possess military aircraft, but I imagine not—for the fiction is cherished that one day in the unspecified future all military aircraft will be abolished. Naval questions are postponed till 1935, but no one imagines that in that year of grace, if civilization survives so long, the great naval powers will either abandon their monster battleships and their submarines, or permit the Germans to acquire even a single specimen.

No German government, not even the most pacific and democratic, could possibly sign such a convention. The promise was given by the victors in the most formal terms, that one of the first tasks of the League of Nations should be to limit and reduce their armaments. Fourteen years went by and nothing was done. Two more were spent on this interminable conference.

And now it is suggested that another eight must pass before nominal equality is reached on land, while at sea and in the air even this is not in sight.

THE future is enveloped in dense fog. As I write, the Disarmament Conference is about to adjourn once more, and only a very bold man would predict that it will ever meet again—save perhaps to adjourn again. Hitler, by his repudiation of Geneva and his referendum, has cut off his own line of retreat. It is, I think, equally difficult to imagine a change of front by the British and the French. They can destroy the case for the re-armament of Germany only by disarming themselves. If they were prepared to scrap all their tanks, their big guns and their military aircraft at once, or even after a short delay, the whole dispute would be over. They dare not do it. In England Lord Cecil pleads gently for such a course; George Lansbury for the Labour Party wages it boldly in the plainest of plain words. But meanwhile the quotations of armaments shares are rising every day in the market. Steel works that have been closed for four years are opening again, and Sheffield, the centre of this trade, reports something approaching a boom. In his own inimitable way, Mr. MacDonald is bringing back prosperity to our shores. The Tory Party calls loudly for more ships and for bigger and more numerous bombing planes. I think it will get them, and I am disposed to think that when Hitler ushers in the New Year with a tank parade, there will be neither League sanctions nor yet a preventive war. The more he builds, the more work will there be for Sheffield and the forges of Creusot. Let us then deal gently with small boys who make an excessive noise in trains. Their play-hour will be short. The race in armaments can have only one end.

Testimony

MY youth has wrought a new democracy
Within the august empires of my mind;
The wakened hosts of marching humankind
Are flaunting banners of their liberty!
A sudden resolution moves in me;
Its mood is militant—I can not bind
My intellect to laws, now that I find
The walls of habit are a tyranny!

Too long our flags of freedom have been furled,
Too long we have relinquished holy powers
To demi-gods in a despotic world.
The ages challenge, and the choice is ours!—
Let us be bold and dare the thunderbolt,
And read the revelation of revolt!

CARL JOHN BOSTELMANN

Is America Headed for Fascism?

The Menace of Fascism. By John Strachey. Covici, Friede, Inc.
\$2.25.

AMONG Communist writers in Anglo-Saxon countries, John Strachey is rapidly achieving a prominent place. His earlier book, *The Coming Struggle for Power*, created wide discussion on both sides of the Atlantic. The thesis of the present volume is that the Fascists are sure to get us unless the working class quickly embraces communism. While the author's remarks are addressed primarily to his fellow Britishers, he makes numerous pointed references to the American scene. "We must define Fascism," says Mr. Strachey, "as the movement for the preservation by violence, and at all costs, of the private ownership of the means of production. This and nothing else is the real purpose of Fascism. When we understand this, everything else in the apparent madness of Fascism becomes comprehensible." The emergence of Hitlerism is interpreted almost exclusively in economic terms: "The Fascists were given power precisely because they were beginning to show signs of disintegrating. . . . The Fascists were given power because they were the last possible basis of mass support for German Capitalism. . . ."

In several impressive chapters the author masses evidence to support his argument that fascism has no effective economic program, and that its excessive nationalism and imperialism, if unchecked by the revolutionary workers, will lead inevitably to a series of cataclysmic wars. He is strongly convinced that Italy and Germany are only the first and second in a long succession of nations that are destined to be overwhelmed by the black or brown terror unless capitalism in these lands is overturned by a revolutionary seizure of power. In his analysis of the German situation three significant aspects are ignored or slurred over without emphasis. The Treaty of Versailles is not included as a primary source of Hitlerism; the probable response of France and the Little Entente to the establishment of a Communist regime in Germany is given little consideration; and the brief explanation offered concerning the failure of the Communist Party to win the masses of German workers is inexcusably inadequate.

The leaders of the Social Democrats are subjected to a relentless Communist indictment and are held accountable for the impotence of the working class when confronted with Hitler's terror. But Mr. Strachey fails to explain why the Communists were not able to take advantage of the "treachery" of the Social Democrats and win the support of the German working class for a revolutionary seizure of power and the establishment of a proletarian dictatorship. Here is his lame account of the situation: "The mistakes of the German Communists were the mistakes of men whose policy would, if it had been followed by the German workers, have led to victory and a workers' regime in Germany, but who, partly, no doubt, because of imperfections in their own approach to the workers, but much more because of the inherent difficulty of the task, were unable to persuade the workers, in quite sufficient numbers, to follow them."

Whose" policy would—if! If it had been followed! Unable to persuade the workers! What requires explanation is the inability of the Communist Party to persuade the German workers to follow its policy. If the Social Democrats were so contemptible, if the misery of the masses was so appalling, if despair and desperation were so universal, why did not the German workers rally to the Communist banner? And why did the Com-

munist Party, with its six million supporters, go down without striking a blow? Moreover, why is it that after a decade of unprecedented economic depression in England and after four years of staggering unemployment in the United States, the Communist parties of these countries embrace only an infinitesimal proportion of the exploited working class, and why is it that the Comintern has become less and less effective as an instrument of revolutionary action?

It is easy for writers like Strachey to point out the difficulties of overthrowing the entrenched power of the possessing class by non-warlike means. But it is also easy to remind Communists that in no industrial country have owners ever been expropriated by violence. In industrial nations the trade unions are dominated by skilled workers who have a substantial stake in the existing order and who are therefore unwilling to assume the appalling risks involved in demolishing capitalism and supplanting it with a proletarian dictatorship. The record of the labor movements in Germany, Great Britain, and the United States offers no justification whatever for the belief that the only defense against the rapid spread of fascism is found in the speedy enrollment of the workers in Communist parties. If the menace of fascism is imminent, and communism is our only safeguard, there is abundant reason to view with alarm the future that is in store for us. The fact of the matter is that the Communist Party, instead of being an antidote to fascism hastens its advance. The louder the cry for violent revolution and a workers' dictatorship, the greater the likelihood that America will yet be ruled by a Mussolini or a Hitler.

K. P.

Religion in the U. S. A.

The Social Gospel and the Christian Cultus. By Charles Clayton Morrison. Harper & Bros. \$2.00.

The Ordeal of Western Religion. By Paul Hutchinson. Houghton Mifflin Co. \$1.50.

THE first of these volumes does two things well. It deals with the problem of bringing the Church as a whole forward in its social vision, and it presents in vigorous form a social conception of Christianity. The importance of the book rests on its performance of the first of these two tasks, in which there is not another book that can take its place.

Dr. Morrison starts with an excellent diagnosis of the present situation in the churches and emphasizes the gulf which now exists between the large section of the clergy which takes the social gospel for granted and the great mass of laymen who do not yet suspect that there is a social gospel. Few men have done as much as Dr. Morrison to make that section of the clergy as large as it is. The gulf between minister and layman, Dr. Morrison traces to the fact that the social gospel has never been assimilated by the Christian cultus as a whole. It is really alien to the worship of the churches and is only an appendix to their theology. He calls for a thoroughgoing reconstruction of the Christian cultus with especial reference to its priestly side. Only so will the social gospel come to seem religious. He does not overlook the fact that when the social gospel is presented in as radical terms as he presents, there will appear another cause for its arrest besides its strangeness. It will come to be only too familiar as a challenge to the economic interests of the people who support the churches. Though Dr. Morrison does not emphasize that factor in his diag-

nosis of the present situation as much as he should, he is prepared to see the church become much smaller and simpler if it does become a home for radical social Christianity.

The book would be stronger if it put more emphasis upon the educational task of the Church. The author does not like what is now being done in the name of religious education and waves it all aside in a few pages. He might give credit to the many religious educators who are doing more than anyone else today to integrate the social gospel with the program of the church. Moreover he might be expected to give more attention to the fact that if we are going to have any success in closing the gap between ministers and laymen, we shall have to make a point of catching the laymen young.

From the point of view of total strategy for radical Christians, Dr. Morrison puts some things out of perspective. It seems very strange that he devotes the chapter on the "Reconstruction of the Church" to a discussion of church union, as though the vast ecclesiastical machine which would result from such union would be less cautious than the existing denominations. But several of the chapters in the book are very important for all who believe that an essential part of any strategy is the winning of as many of the people in the churches as possible to a radical Christianity which has behind it the full dynamic of their personal religion.

The Ordeal of Western Religion is a fine combination of social realism and fairness to the healthy tendencies in the existing church. It is a good journalistic account of the problems which are raised for the churches by the tension between the religion of Jesus and civilization. The perspective of the book as a whole seems to me to be marred by the very great emphasis which is placed on the conflict within the churches between the creeds and modern theology, as though that conflict created a greater ordeal for Christianity than the conflict between Christianity and civilization. The book is written with the sense of impending catastrophe, and the author tries to predict on the basis of present tendencies the attitude of Christianity to the changes which are going to come. He draws no clear conclusion, but communicates the mood of urgency. He leaves some hope that there will be groups within the Church which may be counted upon to preserve the essential values of the religion of Jesus.

Since these two books taken together equal the *Christian Century*, it is tempting to compare them. Between them there is an unmistakable difference of mood. There is no sense of impending catastrophe about Dr. Morrison. Both men are acutely aware of the tension between Christianity and society, but Dr. Morrison gives the impression that the Church itself will be the central factor in social change, while Dr. Hutchinson asks what the Church will do when the forces within economic society bring about social revolution.

JOHN C. BENNETT

WE RECOMMEND

How Chinese Families Live in Peiping. By Sidney D. Gamble. Funk and Wagnalls Company. \$3.00. Here is the most comprehensive and authoritative portrayal of living conditions in the ancient capital of China. The result of thorough and extensive investigation, this volume abounds with information concerning income and expenditures for food, clothing and housing, and lists several complete family budgets. Especially interesting and instructive is the chapter on weddings and funerals. The book contains 31 remarkable illustrations from the author's own photographs, and 21 diagrams.

The Dead Insist on Living. By Seymour Waldman. Gotham House, Inc. \$2.00. A brilliantly biting play on unemployment, rising far above mere propaganda to heights of indubitable artistic passion, yet, of course, for that reason far more stirring than most dramatic treatments of radical themes. Seymour Waldman is a young writer already known for his book, *Death and Profits*, who has definitely, in this play, achieved a justified place in the first rank. We long to see its incisive beauty—for it has the element of beauty possessed by every really fine tragedy—on the stage, with a sensitive cast. It would be noteworthy, if for no other reason, for the unusual combination of rhythmic lines infused with the rough-and-ready speech of living men.

Russia and Asia. By Prince A. Lobanov-Rostovsky. Macmillan Co. \$2.50. If Russia is to shift the world economy off its capitalistic base, its leverage, politically as well as economically, is certain to be greatest in the East. Thus the historic relationships traced with such balance and foresight in this carefully-written volume have the greatest conceivable relevance for future developments in international affairs.

Social Planning and Adult Education. By John W. Herring. Macmillan Co. \$1.25. Those who look for social change are frequently long in theory and short in performance. This little volume tells of a concrete experiment in community organization and work as carried out in Chester County, Pennsylvania. All phases of activity are discussed, from health and welfare to libraries and education.

The Penns of Pennsylvania. By Arthur Pound. Macmillan. \$3.50. A straightforward story of the elder Penn, his son William, the young man's rise to the place where he began his "Holy Experiment," the fruits of that experiment, and the gradual disappearance of the Penns. Marred here and there by some surprisingly bad writing, but it possesses, throughout, the virtue of frankness without seeking deliberately (quite the contrary) to "debunk."

Stabilization of Money. Compiled by J. G. Hodgson. H. W. Wilson Co. \$.90. One of those invaluable little volumes pro and con, in "The Reference Shelf" series. Very handy in the days ahead for those of the Great Majority who will have to talk about the money which other people handle.

The Struggle for the Control of the Mediterranean Prior to 1848. By James Edgar Swain. Stratford. \$2.00. This is a well-done study of an important phase of Franco-British relations, useful primarily to the scholar but filling a niche hitherto almost unoccupied.

Discovering Christopher Columbus. By Charlotte Brewster Jordan. Macmillan. \$3.00. One of the best outstanding books for children. A readable, fascinating, human story of two boys—one American, one Spanish—who follow the trail of Columbus in Spain, unearthing many facts not generally known to the formalized student of history in our schools. The volume is very well printed, and its numerous illustrations are well calculated to heighten the impression of Spanish civilization. The author on this point is an enthusiast, and properly; though, alas, the book must have been written just before the revolution of 1931, and her appreciation extends, but not immoderately, even to Don Alfonso.

CORRESPONDENCE

Paul Blanshard Replies

I THINK that you editors of THE WORLD TOMORROW are very nice, earnest people, and certainly you were more than kind in describing my merits when you attacked me for resigning from the Socialist Party. But has it occurred to you that perhaps Upton Sinclair and I are right about the Socialist Party, and you are wrong? You wave your arm and dismiss us from the fellowship of American socialism because we have recognized the obvious fact that the Socialist Party is dying and because, pending the arrival of a new third party, we have decided to fight for progressive leaders and progressive programs within the older parties. Is it immodest of me to remind you that no one of your editors has had half as much experience in the American labor movement or the American Socialist Party as Mr. Sinclair or I? No one doubts your sincerity, but most intelligent radicals in America will question the rather sophomoric and arrogant way in which you dismiss veteran Socialist workers who happen to disagree with you in regard to political technique in the present confused and uncertain American situation.

I have no intention of arguing out with you the principles and facts involved in my resignation from the Socialist Party. I know from long experience with Socialist polemics that the non-Socialist writing in a Socialist journal is like a bull in a Spanish bull ring. The more he paws and snorts, the more the banderilles are hurled at him and the more the crowd howls in sadistic glee.

But I do want to submit to you and your readers a challenge. I do not believe that the editors, contributors, and subscribers of THE WORLD TOMORROW expected that the magazine would take the narrow, partisan position that your journal has now assumed. Your journal was intended, I believe, by its founders and contributors to be a broad-gauged organ of radical thought, not attacking with secular bitterness those who happen to differ in regard to political methods. So here is my challenge:

Will you poll your entire editorial staff, including all editors and contributing editors whose names are listed on your masthead, and your ten leading financial contributors, and ask them if they are members of the Socialist Party? Then, will you print an editorial headed "Non-Socialists," in which you attack them as directly and specifically as you attacked me for resigning from the Socialist Party? I ask you to print the names also of any leading contributor or editor who resigns before this editorial is printed.

New York, N. Y.

PAUL BLANSHARD

Editors' Comment

WE are very sorry that Mr. Blanshard has taken umbrage at our remarks about his resignation from the Socialist Party. We thought they were quite kind. At any rate we have for him as a person nothing but the most affectionate regard. His actions as a political leader are naturally subject to review by a journal devoted to radical politics.

It is a well-known fact that not all of the editors of THE WORLD TOMORROW are Socialists and that they are not in perfect agreement with each other politically. We are unable to understand how that fact can be relevant to the question of whether or not Mr. Blanshard chose an effective method of correcting the weaknesses of socialism.

We are not doctrinaire Marxists, and some of the defenders

of "pure doctrine" do not like us any better than they do Mr. Blanshard. We are also ready to concede that something may be the matter with the American Socialist Party, and that it may have to undergo fundamental changes if it is to make the largest contribution to the radical political alignment of the future. But we are quite convinced that defections of the kind of Mr. Blanshard's and Mr. Sinclair's are not calculated to correct the weaknesses of American socialism. They might more correctly be interpreted as a symptom of its disease than as a medicine for its cure.

Mr. Blanshard is in error if he thinks that THE WORLD TOMORROW has become narrow-minded and sectarian. We are devoted to radical political action rather than to a political party and our judgment of his action is informed by that devotion. If he can give us a reasoned argument, intended to convince us that the espousal of Mr. La Guardia's cause is an effective means of correcting the weaknesses of American socialism, we shall be very much interested in it.

THE EDITORS

Bolivia's Cannon Fodder

ON Thursday I saw 1,000 newly captured Bolivian prisoners. They were, with perhaps half a dozen exceptions, pure Indians. It is truthfully said that Bolivia has more Indians than she wishes. This must be the reason the Bolivian government is willing to sacrifice so many men in the Chaco, and also why it will not submit to arbitration. Of course the Bolivians are not sure of their titles, or they would doubtless have submitted to arbitration. I wonder if in this combination of facts we have the reason why Bolivia keeps on fighting and refuses to arbitrate. Too many Indians and too few titles—that is probably why hostilities do not end.

Asuncion, Paraguay

ARTHUR ELWOOD ELLIOTT

In Behalf of Justice

WOULD you be generous enough to permit me to call attention through your columns to a case shortly to come to trial which is of far-reaching importance? It is that of George Crawford, friendless and penniless Negro, charged with a double murder in Virginia, in whose case Judge James A. Lowell rendered in the United States District Court at Boston the decision to the effect that a Southern state which violates the Federal Constitution by denying to Negro citizens the right to serve on juries should not itself have the right to appeal under that same Constitution for the return to that state of a Negro charged with crime. The Circuit Court of Appeals reversed Judge Lowell in his granting of the writ to Crawford, and the United States Supreme Court has just denied Crawford a hearing on his appeal from the Circuit Court's decision.

This means that Crawford will shortly have to stand trial in Virginia. Extensive investigations by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People cast very grave doubts upon Crawford's guilt. Considerable evidence lends color to the conviction that he is being made the scapegoat for the real murderer.

The N. A. A. C. P. faces this case with a depleted treasury due to the great volume of important cases which it has had to fight during the past year. It seems probable that we shall have to go to trial in Virginia shortly after this letter appears. Lawyer must be retained, necessary investigations made, witnesses transported and evidence gathered. Will readers of THE WORLD TO-

ORROW contribute as generously and as speedily as possible to help us defend George Crawford? Checks should be made payable to Mary White Ovington, Treasurer, and sent to the N. A. C. P., 69 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y.

New York, N. Y.

WALTER WHITE, Secretary

Who's Who in This Issue

Leo Krzycki, national organizer for the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, has just been elected to succeed Morris Hillquit as national chairman of the Socialist Party of America.

E. Merrill Root is professor of English literature at Earlham College.

Roger Baldwin is director of the American Civil Liberties Union.

J. A. Starrack is associate professor of vocational education at Iowa State College.

John C. Bennett is professor of Christian theology at Auburn Theological Seminary.

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THE LAST WORD

VETERANS in the ranks of the wartime conscientious objectors must have read with particular interest the news that Attorney General Cummings had conceived the bright idea of sending habitual criminals to a sort of Devil's Island in San Francisco Bay. The old fortress of Alcatraz will alarm, it may be, dangerous repeaters; but they face, in all probability, better conditions than those found by some of our war resisters in 1917. For these men were incarcerated not because they had robbed or murdered; they were beaten, manacled, strung up to the bars of their cells, and left for several days at a time, partially clothed, to freeze in a moisture-saturated dungeon-keep because they would not put on uniforms. Theirs were ignominy and torture, since they would not kill fellow humans to win the war, secure democracy throughout the world, eradicate militarism from Germany, glorify dear old Siwash, or add to the lustre of the International Association of Double-Stitched and Full-Fashioned Pants Molders, Dyers, Creasers and Nap-Raisers' Local No. 5,447 of West Ekonk.

Two of these boys, if memory serves me, died later in the sharp air of Leavenworth, whence they had been removed after contracting pneumonia at Alcatraz. Thus was militarism abolished in Germany, etc., etc. Incidentally, I find by checking with Norman Thomas's excellent book *The Conscientious Objector in America* that the body of one of the lads, when shipped home to his parents, was tenderly dressed in a military uniform. . . .

I PLAYED football in pre-college days; and when the team of my Alma Mater crashes down the field, it's to words and music of my own composition. But I never relished the hours of practice in tackling the dummy. It wasn't fun; it didn't seem sensible. Yet most of the world still functions on that outmoded coaching technique. We spend so much time tackling dummies that our golden chance at the enemy never comes. Hence we do not eradicate the glaring inequalities in our society that result in broken homes, juvenile crime, widespread moral breakdown. No, it's simpler to send a few people to Alcatraz. That is why Hitler, Mussolini, even Calvin Coolidge, have been examples of popularity: when social problems confound the mind by their complexity, he is "great" who applies to them the ignorant oversimplifications of inept naïveté and elevates these idiocies to the stature of virtues.

The dummy struggle often arouses to futile action those we might expect to be immune. Thus the perennial cry for a new "war" on crime. Thus the cry for a war against the flaunting swastika. The other day a French anti-militarist was arrested for posting a sign which read, "Down with the war in Morocco." On his person the police found a blackjack and brass knuckles! There is no deep abyss between the viewpoint of this youngster and that of Judge Thomas A. Green of Chicago, whose cure for crime is to hang all habitual offenders and take motion pictures of the executions for the enlightenment of youth. And that irascible old puritan, H. L. Mencken, who started the clamor for the slaughter of unregenerates, is like all of the dummy-tacklers. Not the really menacing forces, but only the vest-pocket Jesse Jameses, come into his wry vista. Of course the real recidivists are those magnates who fight like die-hards against anything which menaces their autocratic rule; who set puppets on thrones in Cuba, Italy, and elsewhere; who fasten on youth the bony clutch of their ossified tradition.

Well, if I am to battle crime, just as in the case of any other social wrong, I want my shoulder against solid sinew, not against a sawdust bag. To be sure, even the dummy can swing back and bash you in the face; but it's always your own push that does the damage.

Eccentricus

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